IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

On its 80th Anniversary Unite Under the Red Banner of the October Revolution!

Message to the Trades Union Congress of India

On the "Fifth International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations"



July 1998 11 £1.5 ▪ FF 10 ▪ 3.-DM

CONTENTS

3 On the "Fifth International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations"
(April 1998)

28 THE ALTERNATIVE IS STILL:
Socialism or Downfall Into Barbarism!
Raise the Revolutionary Banner of May Day Higher!
(April 1998)

37 On Its 80th Anniversary
Unite Under the Red Banner of the October Revolution!
(October 1997)

47 Message of Greetings to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines
(April 1998)

49 Message to the Trades Union Congress of India
(February 1998)

53 Mauthausen Reminds Us: On May 8 1945 Peoples Under the Leadership of the Soviet Union Defeated Hitler Fascism!
(April 1998)

On the "Fifth International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations"

There are various initiatives claiming to fight for the creation of the unity of the International Communist Movement. We have already taken a stand on and informed our readers about them in various articles.

One of these initiatives is the "International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations", trying to bring about a unity on the basis of the defense of "Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought".

This is not the same initiative as the "Revolutionary Internationalist Movement" of the eighties headed primarily by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, upholding "Mao Zedong Thought" and openly calling itself Maoist, but an initiative arising in the second half of the eighties. This initiative has until today accomplished a total of five conferences with a period of approximately two years.

As Party we had applied for participation in the Fifth Conference to carry our Marxist-Leninist views into it, and take up direct contact with various participants of the conference. As a prerequisite for participation, we were presented with the "Organizational Rules" adopted by the Fourth Conference, and asked to declare we would accept them.

We declared we could not accept these rules clearly negating the principle of open and public ideological struggle, and putting obstacles before an open discussion not only in public, but even within the conference, however, we would still want to participate in the conference, and be it also only with an observer status.

Subsequently, our participation in the Fifth Conference was prevented particularly by the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD), in our view an opportunistic organization, in the Joint Coordinating Group which plays the role of an executive between two conferences.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The Fifth International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, from the participation in which we were particularly prevented by the MLPD because of its fear of ideological struggle, took place in the autumn of 1996.

The documents of this Conference were printed in the "International Newsletter" # 12 of 15th December 1996, published by the Joint Coordinating Group. According to this document, following organizations participated in the conference:

* Marxist-Leninist organization from Afghanistan
* Revolutionary Communist Party, Argentina
* Workers' Party of Bangladesh
* OCML Voie Proletarienne, France
* Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)
* Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti
* Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy
* Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War
* Japanese Communist League
* Communist Organization of Luxemburg
* Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninists)
* Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Morning), Netherlands
* Workers' Communist Party, Norway
* Communist Party of the Philippines
* Pan-Africanist Congress, South Africa
* Comnunist Unification of Spain
* Ching-Kang Mountains Institute, Taiwan
* Revolutionary Communist Party, Uruguay
* A revolutionary organization from Zaire

Our readers know some of these organizations, for example, the Communist Party of Philippines through some of its own documents published in the earlier issues of "Bolshevik Partisan". We also brought a coverage on the parties from India, on the PAC, and the OCML from France in earlier issues of "Bolshevik Partisan".

As is well known, we assess the lines of both the MLPD as well as the CP Nepal, an erstwhile governing party in the Kingdom of Nepal, as opportunistic, and do not regard them as Marxist-Leninist parties. But for us this is not an obstacle to discussing with them as well, to struggling against their wrong line in common forums.

We do not have sufficient material and information on the other organizations involved in the Conference to judge their theory and practice. The main documents we have to judge these parties are the documents of the Fifth Conference signed by them.

ON THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

Below we want to present our views on the basic documents, i.e., resolutions of the Fifth International Conference in the form of theses.*

Before going onto that, however, we should like to say a few words about basics in methodology.

We are of the opinion that the unity of the World Communist, Marxist-Leninist Movement will only be the result of a really fundamental, comradely discussion on present questions. We think there is no point in hiding the discussion over ideological-political questions. We think this discussion can and ***must*** be conducted openly and publicly.

There is no other way for parties claiming to be communist to fulfil their task of educating the working class and toilers, and helping them become perfect in distinguishing right from wrong in the course of the clash of ideas. Open and public, principled debate and struggle on ideological-political issues and even on some organizational questions that do not demand conspiracy is a principal demand of Marxism-Leninism.

* This article refers to the German text of the resolutions, published in the Red Flag, central organ of the MLPD, # 51–52, 1996. We quote from the English text of the resolutions in the "International Newsletter", # 12. Hence the inaccuracies in the text of the resolutions and the polemics following from them in such questions as the leadership in the European Union, patient revolutionary detail work, Palestinian peoples etc. ***–Translator's note.***

When we say this, some people think and say we were out for quarrel, we would always highlight the points of difference, see the negative side of things and bring this to the fore. They misinterpret and misrepresent our criticisms and evaluations as "attacks" that do not serve the interests of unity. Our answer to these accusations is this:

Unity is not an end in itself, but a means. Unity is necessary for the Communists to unite the international working class and oppressed peoples on the basis of a correct line for the proletarian world revolution, and to mobilize them into strugle. Unity of Communists must be a sound, principled unity built on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their correct application into practice. Such a unity cannot be built by concealing the differences, by deceiving the revolutionary public.

A unity built on concealing the differences of opinion, on passing them over in silence, although it may seem strong, is built on sand, and doomed to failure. ***Criticism*** and comradely ***ideological struggle*** waged before the revolutionary public, before the broad masses of workers and toilers, with their broadest and active participation, is an indispensable condition for a genuine Marxist-Leninist unity.

Such an ideological struggle is, contrary to what some people think and say, not an obstacle to joint class struggle in practice. Lenin was quite right with his demand: Before we unite, and in order that we may unite, we must draw broad lines of demarcation, and clearly present and discuss our differences. The Bolshevik Party in Russia was built on this understanding, and we should take it as our model in building our communist parties.

In the struggle against revisionism, Mao Zedong considered it a fundamental question to draw the entire society into this struggle! He made fun of those who held open ideological struggle for chaos and ran away from it in fright! A method which highlights only the points of unity, but does not name the differences of opinion, should not and cannot be upheld in the name of Marxism-Leninism.

There is a reason why we ascertain all this here before going onto evaluating the documents of the Fifth International Conference. And it is the following: One participant organization in this Conference does not sign

one of the Conference resolutions, another (the Communist Party of Nepal) signs the Resolution No. 2 only in six out of a total of twelve points, others sign everything, but in their own agitation and propaganda represent positions contradicting with these resolutions.

But why an organization has not signed the one or the other resolution, what kind of ideological struggle was waged at the conference (if any!) — thereon there is still not the trace of an information or a document a year after proclamation of the conference! We do not hold this for a Marxist-Leninist method. We do not think this can serve the interests of a sound and firm unity.

When a would-be Marxist-Leninist party assesses another would-be Marxist-Leninist party as opportunist/revisionist etc., one should not be afraid of that party airing its views and substantiating it, ideological struggle should not be prevented by such "rules" as "attack is forbidden".

In the course of ideological and political struggle this would-be Marxist-Leninist party has the possibility and the chance to show that it is not an opportunistic party; there is also the possibility and the chance that others come to be convinced of its opportunism.

In both cases, open and public ideological struggle serves the interests of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of Marxist-Leninists! Where ideological struggle is rejected, where the organizations first then begin to criticize "publicly and by name" other organizations when they mutually assess one another as class enemies, as counter-revolutionaries, where ideological struggle is waged behind closed doors at the best, the way would be paved for agent stories, plot theories, and every kind of speculation etc.

To wage ideological struggle –at best!– behind closed doors is a plague introduced by the revisionists into the World Communist Movement, which they later also managed to establish as a principle. It is more than high time that we grasped this! We would like our criticism to be understood in this sense.

On Resolution No. 1: "The Economic and Political Developments in the World as Basic Situation for Revolutionary Work"

In Section I of this resolution headed *"The Sharpening General Crisis of Capitalism"*, among other things, it is said: *"The internationalization of production in the current period causes the centralization of capital in a few industrial capitalist countries. This also happens in a few big cities in countries dependent on imperialism."*

Here, it is wrong to misrepresent the internationalization of production as if it were a new development that comes to the fore in the current period. As Lenin and Stalin say, the internationalization of production is an essential feature of imperialism since its emergence.

Imperialism is *"the transformation of capitalism into a world system of financial enslavement and colonial oppression of the enormous majority of the world population"* (Stalin, *"The Foundations of Leninism"*, Vol. 6, p. 83).

The present internationalization is not only a phenomenon of the "current period", but the continuation of this essential feature of imperialism in our days as well. Knowing that some ideologists and propagandists of imperialism are trying to present precisely this internationalization as a new phenomenon under the name of the theory of "globalization", the gravity of this wrong formulation weighs all the more heavy in a basic document of a "Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations".

Moreover, we have no clue as to why the document does not clearly say "imperialist countries" instead of "industrial capitalist countries". In a document adopted in the name of the unity of the World Communist Movement, such inaccuracies should not occur!

The first subhead of the Section I of the resolution addresses "The Situation in the Imperialist Countries", and speaks of the states in imperialist countries as *"the states of the monopolies"*, and where it comes to speak of "crisis programs", depicts them as a perfidy of "anti-people governments".

First of all, it is doubly wrong to attribute the crisis programs to "anti-people governments".

Firstly, because, in this way, it is covered up that these programs are, as a whole, the policy of the imperialist states; the responsibility is burdened onto this or that government, thus taking the state out of the target. Indeed, if the crisis programs were really a perfidy of this or that government alone, and not of the entire system, then it would be right to fight only to get rid of the given anti-people government, it would be a struggle within the system, and there would be no need to confront the state.

Secondly, because, this formulation spreads the view, the illusion, that, in imperialist countries, a government that is not anti-people were also possible without a change in the system. This is a downright reformist view.

The term "anti-people government" is borrowed from the 7th Congress of Comintern, which also used this term for the governments in fascist states. It is false to apply this term, used to sum up the concrete situation in 1935 and the ensuing front politics, one-to-one to the present circumstances. The objective situation today is different from that obtaining in 1935.

The situation is not so that some imperialist states are fascistic while others are ruled by bourgeois democracy. The division of the bourgeoisie into fascists and democrats is not like that obtaining in 1935, and also does not have the same dimensions. And there isn't a powerful socialist state like the Soviet Union of those days. The subjective situation also is not comparable with that in 1935!

Communist organizations in the whole world were never so strong as in the middle of the thirties. For the working class and toilers, Communism was a real source of attraction. The communist parties were experienced, and in terms of tactics they had possibilities and forces incomparable with those of today.

To attempt to apply the tactics of 1935 to present circumstances would but result in appending the would-be forces of Communism at the tail end of a section of the bourgeoisie.

And, indeed, the day-to-day politics of the MLPD in Germany, for example, is built on getting rid of the so-called "anti-people" Kohl Government how ever! This is a reformist politics, regarding a coalition of Social Democrats with Greens as the lesser evil.

Under present conditions, where every section of the bourgeoisie and revisionists wax eloquent about the people in order to conceal class contradictions, to present their political adversaries as anti-people and themselves as pro-people, where communist parties are necessarily limited in their tactics as a result of their own weakness etc., the task does not consist in focusing on the struggle against the "crisis programs" of "anti-people governments", but in pursuing a policy of demonstrating that the state of the imperialist bourgeoisie altogether is the main enemy of the working class and toilers.

The goal is to overthrow the imperialist state through socialist revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not to substitute an anti-people government by a "pro-people" government.

Regarding "the state of the monopolies": As is well known, the dominant form of capital in imperialist states is ***finance capital,*** emerging from the fusion of bank capital with industrial capital. This capital has a monopoly character. In this sense one can talk of the domination of monopoly capital in imperialist countries, one can say that the state is the state of the monopolies. While doing so, however, it should not be forgotten that the state represents the interests of the entire capitalist class, as Marx says, it is the *"ideal total capitalist".*

Vis-à-vis the working class and toilers the imperialist state is not only the state of monopolistic exploitation, but of exploitation altogether. It is not only the dictatorship of monopoly capital, but of all capital against toilers.

As is well known, modern revisionists have, proceeding from the dominance of monopoly capital (to be more exact: ***finance capital***) in imperialist countries, pursued a reformist politics in connection with them, and turned revolution from an anti-capitalist movement to a movement for an anti-monopolistic revolution (to be more correct: reform!). In imperialist states they presented not capitalism altogether, but the monopolies as the

target of the revolution, and placed a united front politics with the non-monopolistic sections of capital on the agenda.

Knowing all this, it is completely wrong to talk of the state of the monopolies without demarcating oneself from the "anti-monopolistic" struggle of the revisionists, and the document does not do this. Here the influence of modern revisionists shines through clearly.

Moreover, in our opinion, the situation of the working-class and mass movements in general is presented exaggeratedly in this section on imperialist countries.

After noting that *"the state of the monopolies itself becomes the target of growing discontent of the masses manifest in latent as well as open political crises and an upswing of mass struggles and protests in many countries"*, the resolution continues: *"The greatest mass strikes up to now were those in France of December 1995. In many countries, a new youth movement molded by internationalism and a militant women's movement have developed. Nevertheless, the influence of reformism and revisionism on the masses must be overcome."*

Here we want to note first that the assessment of *"latent as well as open political crises"* is exaggerated and does not correspond with facts. In Marxist-Leninist literature, the term "political crisis" is used for conditions in which the ruling classes can hardly cope with a situation within the framework of their system.

The ruling classes in imperialist countries were solely during the '68 movement –and this also only in certain imperialist countries– in difficulties in coping with the situation within their system. Beside that they had no larger difficulties in the political sphere. These are facts.

The necessity to replace a bourgeois government by way of elections or through some changes in the Constitution by another government cannot be marked as a *political crisis.*

Secondly, to talk of *"the influence of reformism and revisionism on the masses"* is an embellishment of the situation. The situation is such that revisionism and reformism have an almost undisputed dominance in "pro-

gressive" mass movements. That is the decisive point, and in this connection our tasks are a lot more difficult and harder than depicted.

Thirdly, the assessment of the youth and women's movement is also exaggerated. Through the choice of words *"in many countries"*, the resolution evades a concrete assessment of the situation. In which imperialist country did a youth movement develop really moulded by internationalism in recent times? In which imperialist country did a really "militant women's movement" develop in recent times?

To the best of our knowledge, this is a wrong, exaggerated statement. The women's movement, for example, as a mass movement, is fully dominated by feminists; and in terms of its mass character as well as its militancy in recent years, it is not on the incline but on the decline! With respect to the youth movement, too, to say that these mass movements are moulded by internationalism is to put one's own wishful thinking in place of facts.

Interesting is also the task deduced in this resolution for the Marxist-Leninists in imperialist countries:

"This requires of the Marxist-Leninists patient revolutionary rank-and-file work' and support of building self-organizations of the masses."

This is all that is said! When one speaks of imperialist countries and does not put the task clearly and squarely as agitation, propaganda, and organizational work in the working class and among the toiling masses for the goal of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as preparing the masses for the socialist revolution, one cannot talk of a Marxist-Leninist stand.

No doubt, revolutionary detail work must also be done, and the masses must be won in patient revolutionary work. But when this task is not tackled in a manner serving the main task, it would only be a reformist task. The document loses no words on which is the prime and main task of Marxist-Leninists.

* In German "geduldige revolutionäre Kleinarbeit", (see p. 20 of "International Newsletter" # 12) i.e., patient revolutionary *detail work*, not *rank-and-file work*. Kleinarbeit: painstaking and detailed work **–Tr.**

Furthermore, in terms of mass work today, one should speak of mass work of Marxist-Leninists primarily in the working class, and not undifferentiatedly of a general mass work in imperialist countries. Factories and unions must be the main areas in which Communists do mass work today.

While ascertaining our tasks, it is wrong to talk undifferentiatedly of mass work, to act as if the communist parties in imperialist countries had already won the vanguard of the proletariat and become real mass parties.

Passing onto the question of "self-organizations of the masses"... Here, first of all, the following question should be answered: Why does the resolution speak of *"building self-organizations of the masses"* instead of building mass organizations?

It is totally clear what the petty-bourgeoisie understands by *"self-organizations of the masses"*. They understand the so-called *Non-Governmental Organizations* by it, in which parties are not allowed to participate as parties, i.e., mass organizations that are part of the system.

Where is the point in which a basic document of the "Conference of Marxist-Leninists" demarcates itself from such a notion of mass organizations? As if that were not enough, the task of Marxist-Leninists with respect to mass organizations is limited with "support"! That is, the masses will organize themselves spontaneously, and Marxist-Leninists provide support. Consequently, they have no task of striving for leadership in the mass organizations through ideological struggle etc.!

This is a wrong outlook, open to spontaneism. No doubt, it is possible that this was emphasized in order to raise the meaning of the spontaneous movement of the masses in reaction to certain Marxist-Leninist groups agitating in the past in the name of the masses. But even when that was the case, it nevertheless remains an error, solely its gravity is somewhat slighter.

The biggest error of the resolution with respect to imperialist countries is, clearly, not to put the goal of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat clearly and squarely. On a related issue, i.e., the question of allies, addressed in relation to dependent and neo-colonial countries, the resolution loses no words with respect to imperialist countries, and passes

over the question in silence. In such a document, if there is no unanimity on the question of what role, for example, the farmers and salaried employees will play in the revolution in imperialist countries, the existence of such a question should have been noted at least.

Under its second subhead, the resolution addresses "The Situation in the Neo-colonies and Dependent Countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia".

In this subsection we have more questions than criticisms.

1) Africa as a whole is described as a continent where *"the objective conditions are ripe for revolutionary work"*. Taken on its own, this is a true statement, but what is the point of ascertaining this especially for Africa? Is there any continent, any country in the epoch of imperialism, in which the objective conditions are not ripe for revolutionary work?

What's more, after enumerating a series of reasons to corroborate this conclusion of "objective maturity", the resolution states: "Moreover, there is massive displacement of people and massacres in the African continent", which seems to be a very peculiar argument to draw such a conclusion from.

Once there was the reactionary theory of the *"dialectics of backwardness"*! According to this theory, the revolution was closest where the oppression was biggest, whence the conclusion was drawn of nearly greeting the extent of oppression. Naturally, we are not saying the resolution represents this view. But, when the point at issue is the question of the maturity of objective conditions for revolution, and one is especially urged to emphasize this as a particularity, speaking of the multitudinousness of displacements and massacres leaves the door open for such associations.

The resolution also loses no words on the subjective element in Africa. Neither a word on the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary organizations in Africa, nor a word on their present situation. Precisely in Africa, however, in Ethiopia, in South Africa, for example, there are questions awaiting discussion and calling for answers.

In the last analysis, the situation in these countries did not, in our view, develop positively in the sense of bringing freedom and liberation to the

proletariat and oppressed peoples, but despite that, they were powerful mass movements! In Ethiopia, there was a revolutionary war! In South Africa, there were actions verging on a revolutionary uprising!

Revolutionary organizations played an important role in them. (When speaking of mass movements in imperialist countries, to mention the December strikes in France, but not to mention even one struggle in Africa is very disproportionate indeed!) While passing over all this in silence, the resolution gives instances of armed struggles and strikes, for example, when it comes to speak of the situation in Latin America. It highlights the strikes especially. Is there not one strike action in African countries worth of emphasizing?

2) In this subsection, the resolution speaks of a "proletarian revolutionary party", in all probability meaning the Communist Party of the Philippines, under whose leadership "protracted people's war is being carried out". Probably, that was the only party on which all could unite. When this is the case, then this should have been made clear. Otherwise one is left with the impression that, in the entire world, there is only one party that is in a situation to wage and wages people's war.

3) The last paragraph of this subsection reads as follows:

"In the present period, the struggle between armed revolution and armed counterrevolution is focused on the countries of the oppressed nations and peoples."

As a current appraisal, this is correct in our view as well.

In the past, however, in the name of "Mao Zedong Thought", wrong conclusions were drawn from this concrete appraisal; the theory of world-wide people's war was developed etc.; or Lenin's statement of the "weakest link in the chain of imperialism" was so misinterpreted as meaning that all these countries taken together are the weakest link of the chain etc. It would have been right not to forget all this. It would have been right to declare that such a misinterpretation is rejected.

Under its third subhead, the resolution addresses "The Situation in the Former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe".

"Civil wars are waged between rival cliques, with various forms of Russian imperialist intervention", it is said.

Why are these civil wars not mentioned directly by name? Why is Chechnia not named directly, for example? Is the role of Russia limited solely to intervention in civil wars? The truth is that these are, above all, wars of Russian imperialism in collusion with the compradors of respective countries against the peoples in the periphery of the Russian empire.

The fourth subhead carries the title "The Intensification of the Contradictions Among the Imperialists".

"The US, Japan and the European Union, in which Germany and France are the strongest, are the centers of the imperialist world economy."*

In this whole subsection, Lenin's term of "imperialist Great Powers" isn't used even once! Why not? To keep up the "Theory of Superpowers"? If that is not the case, then why?

Why is Great Britain not included in this picture? Has it ceased to be a Great Power? For Russia, it is said that *"(Russia) cannot be underestimated as an imperialist power"*, but it is not included among the centers of the imperialist world economy. Is Russia not a Great Power any more?

Russia got weakened, of course, but it is still the second biggest military force as before! Great Britain is still the No. 1 in the Commonwealth, and one of the five official nuclear powers in the world!

Even when the question is put as "centers of the world economy", that does not change anything. There are not such grave differences between, say, France and Great Britain that would justify counting France to the centers of the imperialist world economy and Great Britain not! And, among these centers, only the United States are singled out as trying to play the role of a "world policeman", while the others are handled solely as "economic centers", so that we are confronted with a situation where economics is separated from politics.

* In German "Europäische Union mit Deutschland und Frankreich an der Spitze" (see page 21 of "International Newsletter" # 12), i.e., "European Union led" or "headed by" or "with Germany and France in the lead". **–Tr.**

Consequently, according to the resolution, there are *"economic centers"* in the world today which do not play, or want to play, the role of world policeman. This is an erroneous approach. It does not accord with facts. Not only the USA, but ***all*** imperialist Great Powers are struggling for world hegemony. Above all the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan are putting up the biggest competition of all against the USA.

It is equally wrong to present the matter as if the European Union stood under the leadership of Germany ***and*** France. Presently, the European Union stands under the leadership of Germany. France and Great Britain come after Germany and contend with it for leadership. Germany is the strongest economic and political power in Europe, and in pains to draw equal rapidly in terms of military force.

"Perspective of the World Proletarian Revolution" is the title of Section II of this resolution. It is held very general, and in this generality it is correct.

This resolution was not signed by the Communist Party of India/Marxist-Leninist (Janashakti). There is no explanation why they did not sign. The Communist Party of Nepal did not sign certain passages of the resolution, not, for example, the passages over the appraisal of the Soviet Union. On this point, too, there is no explanation in the documents published up to now.

On Resolution No. 2: "Tasks and Perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist and Working-class Movement"

In point one it is said: *"The struggle for national liberation and democracy is a part of the world proletarian revolution."*

In present circumstances, to put the question in this manner, without emphasizing the necessity for the leadership of the proletariat, is not correct. Similarly, it is wrong to use the general term of "struggle for democracy" under the present conditions in such a programmatic document that does not discuss the class question.

Point two of this resolution reads:

"It is necessary to promote the unity of parties which are guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and have a positive attitude towards Mao Zedong in order to confront and defeat revisionism with which there can be no ideological unity, without prejudice to the broad political unity of anti-imperialist forces."

We want to note here first that we refuse to use the term "Mao Zedong Thought". Since we expounded our reasons why we do not do so elsewhere in various documents, we have no need to paraphrase them again.

In this connection we comprehend ourselves in the category of parties *"having a positive attitude towards Mao Zedong".* In our opinion, in order to be triumphant in the struggle against revisionism, it is a prerequisite to overcome the errors of "Mao Zedong Thought" as well. To assess Mao positively and to be guided by "Mao Zedong Thought" are not one and the same thing. The former is right, the latter is wrong.

In the latter part of this point, the idea "without prejudice" is formulated of a *"broad political unity of anti-imperialist forces"* in which the revisionists can also participate. This is also wrong.

The possibility of coming together with a revisionist force or organization in an anti-imperialist action cannot be formulated as it is done in the resolution. What is being said in this point is: No to ideological unity with revisionism, yes to political unity with it. In such generality, this is clearly wrong.

Point three stresses the intention of advancing the line of proletarian internationalism. While doing so, however, the resolution forgets to include the most fundamental ideological tasks of proletarian internationalism: irreconcilable ideological struggle against the chauvinism of the workers of oppressor countries and the nationalism of the workers of oppressed countries; different duties of the communists of the two sides! Without this struggle, we cannot achieve the unity of all workers against the common enemy.

Point four puts the task of *"destroying the reactionary states through armed revolution". "Overthrowing the capitalist system"* and *"building so-*

cialism in transition to Communism" is put as the historical mission of the proletariat. This is all good and well.

But there are still questions:

Why does the resolution speak of the task of *"destroying the reactionary states"* in particular instead of exploiter states in general? We must ask this question absolutely, particularly when we keep in mind how the Resolution No. 1 puts the nature of the task, where the "crisis programs of anti-people governments" are laid down as the target of the struggle. At the same time the question arises of whether or not to overthrow a regime in which the exploiter classes rule, which, however, plays a progressive role temporarily.

Point five says, *"We support the peoples' struggles... for self-determination"*. Politically this is a wrong formulation. Correct is the *"self-determination of nations"*.

In the past, there were many heated debates over this question in the World Communist Movement. Finally, the common line was laid down as furnishing unconditional support for *"the right of nations to self-determination"*, and this to be interpreted as *"the right of nations to secede and set up their own state"* (defense of the right to secede and favoring a secession in a concrete case are two different things).

The resolution of an "International Conference of Marxist-Leninists" must use the correct terms. Furthermore, the resolution speaks of *"the struggle of Palestinian* ***peoples*** *against Zionism"*.* What is the reason for speaking in plural? Does the resolution intend to mean the peoples of Palestine of Arabic and Jewish nationalities? If not, what then?!

Point six addresses the task of *"promoting and helping the resistance of the peoples and nations of the third world against imperialist economic plunder"*. Here, we see that the understanding of the "Theory of Three Worlds" still persists together with its terminology. If there is a third world,

* In German "der Kampf der palästinensischen ***Völker*** gegen den Zionismus" (see p. 32 of "International Newsletter" # 12, emphasis added), i.e., the struggle of Palestinian peoples against Zionism. In the English text in singular. **–Tr.**

what makes up then the first and the second world?! And further, why the differentiation between the peoples and nations of the "Third World"?

If the "Third World" is grasped as the neo-colonies of imperialism, as dependent countries, then, in their struggle for "independence", a section of the bourgeoisie, too, –as a part of the oppressed– is among the people. How ever we look at it, this point shows that no radical rupture has been effected with the "Theory of Three Worlds". We find it utterly wrong to persist in speaking with the terminology of the "Theory of Three Worlds" on the one hand, while refusing some of its overtly counter-revolutionary policies on the other hand.

Point seven says, *"We extend our solidarity to the people suffering human rights violations"*. "Human rights" is a term with a bourgeois content, heavily misused by the bourgeoisie against Communists and revolutionaries. There is no place for upholding such a term in such a programmatic document. We oppose all oppression directed against the workers and toilers, and uphold the rights of the workers and toilers!

In point nine the world is divided into *"capitalist countries"* and *"countries of the oppressed peoples and nations"*. Hence, it is conceded that *"countries of the oppressed peoples and nations"* (we pointed out the incorrectness of this term above, we will not further dwell on it) cannot be capitalistic. This is altogether wrong, and contradicts with reality.

Today, North Kurdistan/Turkey, for example, is a dependent country, i.e., according to the words of the resolution, finds itself in the category of *"countries of the oppressed peoples and nations"*, but in North Kurdistan/Turkey the prevailing mode of production is capitalistic. It's a capitalist country. The existence of feudal remnants, the fact that this capitalism is dependent on imperialism, does not abolish the fact that the prevailing mode of production is capitalistic!

This error continues also in the issue of the stages of revolution. That in the capitalist countries the character of the revolution is socialist, is wrong in this generality. In some (dependent) capitalist countries, the stage of new-democratic, anti-imperialist revolution stands on the agenda before the socialist revolution.

Similarly, we find it in this generality wrong, that in all *"countries of the oppressed peoples and nations"* the character of the new-democratic revolution is agrarian. In certain countries can, for example, the questions of political democracy be more important than the agrarian question etc.

Again in this point, the resolution puts the task not as revolution for the countries formerly and currently ruled by revisionists, as it does for other countries, but as *"exerting efforts to encourage the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary mass movements for socialism"*. Why? Is the revolution in these countries not a necessity?

Point 11 formulates the task of a *"united front against reactionary cliques"*,* and is followed by the sentence:

"*In the backward countries,*" (this is still another term of bourgeois economics and politics, it should not be used in such a document. –Author's note.), "*the worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of any united front.*"

That is to say, whether imperialist or dependent, for all countries the resolution places the task of a "united front" on the agenda. And the target of this united front is laid down as *"reactionary cliques"*. To lay down such a general task is wrong. It's not also clear what is understood by "reactionary cliques".

We are informed that the Communist Party of Nepal did not sign points 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 12 of this resolution consisting of 12 points.

Again, the document naturally loses no words on the reasons why the Communist Party of Nepal did not sign them, which ideological struggle was waged etc.!

* In German "Um die reaktionären Cliquen zu besiegen" (see p. 33 of "International Newsletter", # 12), i.e., "in order to defeat the reactionary cliques", and not "in order to defeat the reactionary clique of each country", as it stands in the English text of the resolution. There isn't much problem if "the reactionary clique of each country" is meant to be understood as the ruling classes of each country, i.e., exclusively as classes not making up the people. If not, if it is meant to be understood in the sense, for example, the MLPD understands it, then there are extremely grave problems. See our criticism on the MLPD in the preceding pages. **–Tr.**

On Resolution No. 3: "The Development of the International Marxist-Leninist and Working-Class Movement in the Struggle Against Revisionism"

Point two of this resolution says, the Soviet Union evolved under the leadership of the modern revisionists into a social-imperialist "superpower". We reject the term *"superpower"* as one of the basic terms of the "Theory of Three Worlds".

In the struggle against modern revisionism, point three solely mentions the merits of the Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong's leadership. The positive role played by the Party of Labor of Albania is not mentioned even with one word. This is a nihilist attitude. Moreover, it should have been absolutely noted that, in the struggle against modern revisionism, Marxist-Leninists themselves committed serious mistakes as well.

Point four ends with the sentence:

"All parties present condemn the attacks on Mao Zedong as well as the attempt to collide Marxism-Leninism with Mao Zedong Thought."

Whereby it is important to point out that Voie Proletarienne (OCML), France, Pan-Africanist Congress, South Africa, and the Communist Party of Nepal did not sign this resolution.

Point five of the resolution says, China is no longer a socialist country, and the Communist Party of China no longer a Communist Party, capitalism was restored in China. Organizers of the conference consider it as a great progress that the conference adopted this resolution. (See "Red Flag", # 51–52, p. 16)

That this question, left open at the Fourth Conference, was solved correctly at the Fifth Conference, undoubtedly constitutes a progress. Nevertheless, it should have been pointed out that three participant organizations did not sign this resolution at all, while two others, the Communist Unification of Spain, and the Workers' Party of Bangladesh, did not sign this point of the resolution.

It would have been right to point to the continuing ideological struggle in this question.

On Resolution No. 4: "On Continuing the International Conference"

In point two, we are reassured that *"the conference was marked by a pronounced proletarian, democratic, open and broad debate carried out on a principled basis"*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to find any information about the content of this debate in the documents published up to now.

On the other hand, knowing that the "rules" adopted by the Fourth Conference, the acceptance of which were a prerequisite for participation in the Fifth Conference, reject open and public ideological struggle, we have reason to be sceptical about this statement of "pronounced, open, and broad" debate made by the Fifth Conference.

After praising the atmosphere of proletarian discussion at the conference, the resolution goes on to state: *"This success is in contrast to the questioning from outside about the character of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations."*

Who is meant by outside, what do they understand by "*questioning*"? Why this cover-up at all? The correct Marxist-Leninist, instructive approach would have been to tell what one means clearly and explicitly!

In connection with the principles of the Fourth Conference, point three of the resolution makes the following statement:

"It (the participants of the Fifth Conference) unanimously approved the report of the JCG on the preparation of this conference because the JCG strictly kept to the principles set forth by the Fourth Conference, as amended and readopted by the Fifth Conference."[*]

Here we are reassured that the principles of the Fourth Conference were both *"readopted"* as well as *"amended"*. The question arises: If the princi-

[*] We leave aside the obvious impossibility and illogicality of the JCG elected at the ***Fourth*** Conference having "strictly kept to the principles set forth by the Fourth Conference, ***as amended and readopted*** by the ***Fifth*** Conference" in the English text of the resolution. Besides, the German text speaks of "improvements" ("verbessern": improve) and not of "amendments" ("abändern": amend). Here we have adopted the English wording of the resolution and altered the wording of our article accordingly. **–Tr.**

ples adopted by the Fourth Conference were right, why the amendments? And what are these amendments? Were there any criticisms against the principles of the Fourth Conference between the Fourth and the Fifth Conference? Have these been discussed at the conference? etc. The Marxist-Leninist stand would have been to bring clarification on all these points.

The fact of the matter is: The Fifth Conference reformulated one of the principles of the Fourth Conference, waivering its "principle" of forbidding *"public criticism"*. Well done! However, in presenting the waiver of this revisionist "principle" solely as an "amendment", it is doing wrong.

Point d) of the "principles" of the preceding Fourth Conference with respect to Conference rules was as follows:

"Achieve gradual unity step by step; no public debate among parties/-organizations and no public criticism or attack by any party/organization on another."

As one can see, the Fourth Conference had adopted a "principle" clearly and explicitly excluding and forbidding public discussion and criticism among communist parties. Our application for attendance was refused because we formally declared we would not accept this "principle". We communicated our views on this issue to the Fifth Conference in writing, and laid down the Marxist-Leninist principle of open and public ideological struggle.

The new formulation of the corresponding point in the "amended" principles of the Fifth Conference now reads:

"Achieve gradual unity step by step: principled debate and cooperation among parties/organizations and no public attack by any party/organization on another."

As one can see, the Fourth Conference's "principle" of *"no public debate and no public criticism"* was discarded, and in its stead was adopted the principle of *"principled debate"*.

True, the clause of "no public attack" still dilutes the principle of open and public ideological struggle somewhat, of course, since a public criticism on a member party of the Conference can be misinterpreted as an "attack", and thus the polemic waged that one does not keep to the "prin-

ciples". For this reason, it would have been right to formulate this clause more clearly and explicitly as *"principled open and public ideological struggle"*. Nevertheless, this point is in one clause fundamentally different from that of the Fourth Conference. It's a forward step in the right direction towards Marxism-Leninism. We'll see whether this progress finds its expression in practice as well.

The clause of "no public attack" is at the same time a formula that opens the door for attacks when they are not made in public. We do not understand a well-grounded ideological-political criticism and assessment as an attack. When an organization criticizes another for making opportunistic errors on this or that issue, or even assesses the organization and its line as opportunistic, and tries to prove its charges on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, no one should condemn this with the pretext of an "attack". One must try to establish, again on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, whether the reasons and arguments for this assessment are right or wrong. Marxist-Leninist ideological struggle demands precisely this.

An attack is an unfounded "criticism" or assessment that has nothing to do with ideological-political positions, without any reasoning or corroboration; gossip, innuendo and half-truths etc. in concrete organizational matters which no one can really check anyway. Marxist-Leninists can allow all this neither publicly nor in non-public relations among themselves. In this sense we are in favor of ideological struggle and against "attacks".

Unfortunately, the situation is such that, some forces laying claim to Marxism-Leninism do not comprehend ideological-political criticism on themselves as a help, but as an attack. This is the result of a deep fear of criticism, whereas Marxist-Leninists have no fear of criticism. On the contrary, criticism/self-criticism is an indispensable prerequisite for the development of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Point 5 of the resolution reads:

"The Fifth International Conference will exert all efforts to call on all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to participate in preparing and holding the Sixth Conference. It is open for criticism, suggestions and active participation on the basis of the following three main criteria:

1. Adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought

2. Struggle against modern revisionism and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao

3. Acceptance of the Rules of the Conference."

The undecisive attitude of the Resolution No. 1 continues here. Both adherence to "Mao Zedong Thought" and a positive attitude towards Mao Zedong are placed as criteria. The latter is a criterion that encompasses a much broader circle. This criterion includes also all those forces that do not defend Mao Zedong Thought, and refuse to defend it as a new stage of Marxism-Leninism etc., but assess Mao as a great Marxist-Leninist, whereas the criterion of "adherence to Mao Zedong Thought" grasps a much narrower circle.

Although the second criterion also includes the adherents of "Mao Zedong Thought" mentioned in the first criterion, the first criterion alone excludes a whole range of revolutionary forces speaking in the name of



Marxism-Leninism. To place these two criteria side by side gives the picture of a conference that does not know what it wants.

In our opinion a criterion like *"taking a positive attitude towards Mao Zedong"* is right and sufficient.

Taken as a whole, we regard the International Conference as a forum that can serve the forces speaking in the name of Marxism-Leninism for getting to know one another better, for continuing the ideological struggle and bringing about the united action of revolutionary forces involved.

With the exception of the points criticized, the conference represents Marxist-Leninist views in its resolutions. We also think the errors in the resolutions can be overcome through open and principled ideological struggle.

We grasp our criticism on the documents of the Fifth Conference as active participation in the preparation to the Sixth Conference in accordance with the appeal of the Fifth Conference, and call upon the forces of the Conference as well as all revolutionary forces speaking in the name of Marxism-Leninism to discuss these criticisms, and to wage ideological struggle.

March 1998•

BOLSHEVIK PARTY
(North Kurdistan/Turkey)
Central Committee

(All italics and emphases ours.)

THE ALTERNATIVE IS STILL:

Socialism or downfall into barbarism!

Raise the revolutionary banner of May Day higher!

150 years ago today the "MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY" was published for the first time. Despite these 150 years it is in no way outmoded, but ***more topical than ever***. Neither the substantiation of violent socialist revolution as the only purposeful way out for the liberation of toilers, nor the statement that proletariat as the only revolutionary class of modern capitalist society is destined to dig the grave of this system of wage slavery, and to free with itself whole humanity from exploitation, has become obsolete. Today scientific socialism and Communism is as relevant as on the first day of the publication of the "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO".

The eulogists of imperialism surpass themselves in declaring the "demise" of Communism. They bellow that with the breakdown of Gorbachev's "Soviet Union" and the so-called "Eastern Block" the defeat of Communism was sealed. But they know perfectly well that this is not so. They demagogically make capital out of the fact that the great majority of present-day people does not have firsthand knowledge of and is informed by the bourgeois media and instructed at school in a maliciosly distorted and directly false way over the period where a genuinely socialist Soviet Union existed, on its way to Communism, and people's democratic states on their way to Socialism. On the other hand, the caricatures of a "Soviet Union" and an "Eastern Bloc" are characterized as socialist that preserved their "socialist" names but in truth had nothing in common with socialism and Communism after Chrushchev, Breshnev and Gorbachev took office. They were bureaucratic

state-capitalist systems with social-fascist, social-imperialist politics. They called themselves "communist" or "real-socialist", and they were also presented with such names by the apologists of imperialism to fool the working masses.

150 years ago Communism was for the bourgeoisie "a spectre haunting Europe" ("MANIFESTO"). Already in those days the bourgeoisie damned everything which was directed against its rule as Communistic, declaring Communism to be the greatest of all evils and a spectre. The founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, presented with the "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" "openly, in the face of the whole world, the views, the aims, the tendencies of the Communists and set an end to the nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism". Now, 150 years later, the Spectre of Communism is haunting again, not only Europe, but the whole world! This time it is the spectre of an allegedly completely dead, unpracticable, inhuman system. Now, like 150 years ago, Communism has nothing to do with this spectre painted on the wall by the bourgeiosie. ***And like 150 years ago, the bourgeoisie is not afraid of this Spectre of Communism invented by itself, but of real Communism!*** Real Communism, which lives on today in the worldwide fights of workers, peasants, toiling masses against exploitation and oppression and above through real Communist Parties and organizations all over the world, is the only alternative to the barbarism of imperialism.

The history of twentieth century has sufficiently proven and is proving again and again every day that capitalism, and its highest stage, imperialism, leads to barbarism.

Imperialism means ***division of the world among the biggest imperialist bandits***. It is the enslavement and intensified exploitation of neo-colonial peoples. In spite of the formal independence, these countries are being subjected to more pernicious forms of exploitation and slavery. Imperialism hinders the independent development of the neo-colonies. It forces them to

"develop" according to ***its own*** interests. Hunger, misery, reactionary wars, ecological disasters for millions of people – that is its routine. The much lauded "globalization" only means extending this catastrophic state of affairs to the furthermost ends of the earth. More than half the world population has an income under the so-called existence minimum. According to a UNO statistic, yearly almost 15 million children under five die of hunger, misery and related diseases, although worldwide more than enough foodstuff is produced and vast amounts of it is regularly destroyed. The International Labor Organization in Geneva reports that circa 190 million children in the world must work throughout seven days of the week for a few cents. And then come the real culprits of this misery, the imperialist exploiters, patronizingly with their humanitarian help, which is nothing other than alms. What is this but barbarism! And it is gaining ground every day!

Imperialism means ***intensified exploitation of the working class also in the metropolises.*** It produces ever recurring overproduction crises which lead to the destruction of immense amounts of productive forces. It creates high unemployment not only in times of crisis, but also in times of "normal" economic development. A giant "industrial reserve army" of unemployed is a typical sign of modern capitalist economy and leads not only to the impoverishment of the directly involved, but also serves as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the employed to reduce real wages. What the "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" says about the tendency of growing pauperization, i.e., impoverishment of the exploited inherent to capitalism, the world is experiencing it in the form of the so-called "two-thirds society", in the rapid rise of so-called "hardship cases", homelessness etc. in drastic dimensions.

That hundreds of millions of persons able to work are left without work, although there is more than enough work, that millions are first sacked and then insulted as "social parasites" and "unwilling to work", and to top it all, that they are misused against the

working people as means of bringing pressure to bear – this is nothing but barbarism! And it is gaining ground every day!

Imperialism means struggle of a few imperialist Great Powers and imperialist monopolies for world domination. There operates the law of uneven and erratic development. This law leads over and again to displacements in the balance of power among imperialists, and therefore to fights ***for the redivision of the spheres of exploitation and influence,*** to wars and proxy wars, and finally also to inter-imperialist wars. The imperialists often celebrate it as a sign of their "peaceableness" that there has been no new World War since the end of the Second World War. They conceal that, in these fifty years, in reactionary local wars instigated by them in all corners of the world, millions of people were killed, became crippled, were forced to flee and raped! Imperialism means ever frequenter local wars for the profit interests of imperialist powers and finally world war among them. This is the worst barbarism! And it is gaining ground every day!

Politically, as Lenin proved, imperialism is ***"reaction all along the line"***. The high-flown affirmations of "freedom", "democracy", "human rights" etc. are in the mouths of the imperialists nothing but catchwords concealing naked business interests. For example, a democratically elected president like Allende in Chile in the seventies did not suit power and capital interests of the imperialists, above all USA. He was putsched away and murdered in the name of defending Western "freedom and democracy" against the "danger of Communism". So long as he acted in their interests in the war against Iran (1981–1988), a fascist like Saddam was good enough for them. As Saddam however got out of control, and claimed a bigger share of the oil wealth in the Near East, imperialists at once discovered their heart for "human rights", "democracy" and "freedom" in Iraq! What hypocrisy!

But we don't even need to look at what is going on in other continents. What's going on in our own countries and in the immediate neighborhood also speaks volumes. Among the "most democratic" imperialist countries themselves, there is not even one in which the democratic rights and freedoms are not systematically restricted and dismantled, the police state is not built up, the surveillance and spying of people not pushed ahead. What George Orwell once wrote down as a terrifying prospect for the future of the so-called "free world", is long exceeded by reality. And it is precisely those imperialist states passing themselves off as especially "democratic", "humanistic" and "freedom-loving" that push ahead with the fascization of whole society. From raising and stirring up racism and chauvinism, hostility and hatred to foreigners til special legislation against immigrants, from tolerating and pepping up fascist gangs on the part of the State to fascistic measures of the State itself, there is a broad range of progressive erosion and elimination of democratic rights, of a step by step fascization of society.

Racism, chauvinism, fascism – they are inseparably bound with the sway of imperialism. This too is barbarism! And it is gaining ground every day!

Imperialism means male domination, means ***submission of the feminine sex***. Women are still seen as maids of the males. Worldwide women are subject to discrimination and underprivileged, they are among the poorest, the most enslaved and the most exploited! "Women's liberation" which made some headway above all in imperialist metropolises in the last decades, at best made a few detail changes of secondary nature, but did not eliminate any one of the essential facts concerning the discrimination and multiple exploitation and oppression of women. As before, women's wages are far below those of men, as before, women make up the lowest layer in the pyramid of professions, as before, they have the largest share in the unemployment statistics etc.

The situation of women on the world scale fundamentally did not change at all. Quite the contrary. The advance of religious fundamentalism means for millions of women being thrown back to totally inhuman conditions of the Middle Ages. Deprivation of the rights of women finds its most brutal expression in the worldwide "white slave" trade, where women are degraded to a commodity and bought and sold as sex slaves. This is barbarism pure! And it is gaining ground every day!

Imperialism means putting the short-term interests of obtaining maximum profit over everything else. The natural resources are regarded by imperialists as their property, to exploit extensively for maximum profit in shortest time. However Marx already said that no society on earth can regard Nature as its property. A society "can only be its temporary beneficiary", "with the task of leaving it to the following generations in improved conditions" (MEW, Vol. 25, p. 784). Under imperialism, the direct opposite is happening. Imperialism is plundering and destroying the earth, wreaking havoc with it, leaving behind a poisoned, destroyed environment that will saddle the coming generations with giant problems. This too is barbarism! And it is gaining ground every day!

All these developments ***intensify the worldwide contradictions*** in the conflict between revolution and counter-revolution: the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeiosie in the imperialist countries, between the oppressed masses in the neo-colonies and imperialism, as well as the contradiction in the camp of counter-revolution: among imperialist powers and global monopoly groups themselves.

The rebellion of the proletariat and other oppressed masses, above all the unemployed movement developing in the last years are a result of the intensification of these contradictions. Although these struggles do not for the moment touch the imperialist system as a whole, and although compared with their potential possibili-

ties these struggles are still weak, they nevertheless frighten the imperialist bourgeoisie. They give a premonition of things which are possible in the coming struggles.

In former "socialist" countries including Russia, a considerable part of the proletariat and toilers shows its discontent with the prevailing conditions.

In wide parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the sway of neo-colonialism, the proletariat and oppressed masses are waging mounting struggles and national wars of independence to resist double oppression and exploitation by the ruling classes. In these fights they are led in part, as in the Philippines, by revolutionary Communist Parties. Even if these struggles in their majority do not yet target the pillars of imperialist system, they give it a big fright.

In this situation the imperialists and their compradors move up all arsenals available to them, including the degenerated imperialist culture supported with the most modern technological know-how, to beat back or nip in the bud the challenges from the proletariat and oppressed masses. Knowing perfectly well that the best way to lead astray the mounting people's movements and to break their resistance is to disarm the proletarian class forces ideologically and politically, they employ all time-tested methods and instruments. They promote various currents which negate the proletarian class point of view and especially the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They spread reformist ideologies including "grass-roots" concepts supported by allegedly independent NGO's. They promote and support religious-fundamentalist, racist and national-chauvinistic forces to split and weaken the proletarian forces. At the same time they suppress mass struggles by increasing state fascization and by unleashing state terror.

That is the situation of the world! ***And in this world Communism is dead, they say! No! It is livelier and more necessary than ever!*** The whole development since the publication of



"MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY" shows one thing completely clearly:

Capitalism and imperialism is barbarism and leads to ever greater barbarism! Communism is the only alternative to this barbarism, and the only hope for mankind! The only alternative for the future is: Either the earth is going to be red! Or humanity will sink into barbarism!

It depends on our work, on the work of Communists of the world, whether we manage to unite the right ideas of Communism with the Labor movement. For, the organized working class armed with Marxism-Leninism is invincible. Only the working class organized in its Marxist-Leninist party is able to forge all revolutionary movements in the world to a unified world revolutionary current to smash the imperialist system. It is the task of Communists to arm and organize the working class with this consciousness. The future of humanity depends on the solution of this task. Let us redouble our efforts to solve this task!

It lies in the hands of the working class and all the oppressed of this earth, that in the coming future imperialism is razed to the ground, that an end is set to the exploitation of man by man, that an economy is erected that treats natural resources gently.

This is possible through the proletarian world revolution, the sum total of new-democratic and socialist revolutions in individual countries!

This is possible if the workers and all other toiling masses translate the clarion call of the "MANIFESTO": ***"Workers of all countries, unite!"*** into action!

This is possible if the workers and oppressed peoples translate the clarion call of the Communist International: ***"Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!"*** into action!

IT IS TIME TO STAND UP!

Let us rally on this May Day under the flag of the "Manifesto" of Marx and Engels!

Let us raise the revolutionary banner of May Day higher!

WAKE UP, THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH!

Workers and oppressed, exploited masses have nothing to lose but their chains!

Let us smash these chains to pieces!

WE HAVE A NEW, A COMMUNIST WORLD TO WIN!

• End of April 1998 •

Joint May Day Declaration of the
Bolshevik Initiative (Germany)
Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan/Turkey)
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag
Marxist-Leninist Initiative (Austria)
Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria

On its 80th Anniversary the Great October Socialist Revolution Still Shows the Proletariat and Oppressed Peoples of the World the Road to Liberation!

Unite Under the Red Banner of the October Revolution!

It is the 80th anniversary of the Great October Revolution this year. On November 7, 1917, the working class in Russia seized central state power through an armed uprising under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. This was the first time in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions that the proletariat took power in a country. November 7, 1917, is an outstanding date in the entire history of mankind, an epoch-making date for the future of mankind. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics emerged from the October Revolution.

The fact that the Soviet Union does not exist anymore lets the bourgeoisie appear to be very strong. The imperialist bourgeoisie celebrates it as a victory over Communism that the country of the October Revolution, the erstwhile socialist Soviet Union, is a thing of the past even by name. The imperialist bourgeoisie and world reaction want to imbue the masses with the sophistry that Communism is dead! They spread the lie that all negative things which came to the surface after the breakdown of the Eastern Block were "a result of the 70 years of socialist and Communist rule". But the truth is somewhat different: The Soviet Union was not socialist 70 years. The dictatorship of the proletariat existed solely while Lenin and after him Stalin was alive, i.e. socialism was built at most 35 to 40 years.

Thus it was proved that the construction of socialism in one country is possible and was possible even in a country with a very backward economic structure, encircled and attacked by imperialism, which constantly had to fight with the counter-revolution internally! The important successes achieved in this very short phase of construction making up quasi only half the lifetime of a human being, show completely clearly what real socialism is, what the working masses are capable of. The 40 to 45 years that came afterwards and of which the younger generation in the whole world and in the land of the October Revolution itself have the deepest memory were not socialist-communist any more, not Marxist-Leninist, but revisionist, they stood in contradiction to the October Revolution. It was not socialism that collapsed at the beginning of the nineties in all Eastern Block countries, but the degenerate bureaucratic-monopoly state-capitalist system which the revisionist leaders portrayed as socialism.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION PROVED THAT A SOCIETY WITHOUT EXPLOITATION IS POSSIBLE AND THUS USHERED IN A FUNDAMENTAL TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND!

Leaving aside the short experience of the Paris Commune, the October Revolution was a revolution differing from all prior revolutions in principle. *"Its aim is not to replace one form of exploitation by another form of exploitation, one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to abolish all groups of exploiters, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat..., to organize a new, classless, socialist society." (Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution", Problems of Leninism, FLP, Peking 1976, p. 267)*

In the socialist Soviet Union, the country born out of the October Revolution, revisionists usurped political power in

1956, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and destroyed the achievements of the October Revolution one by one. During the period of Khrushchev revisionism and the subsequent degeneration, nothing was left over from the October Revolution or from the socialist achievements, and capitalism was restored.

Inspite of this relapse from socialism into capitalism it remains to be said:

"The victory of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organization, in the manner of life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world." (ibid)

The October Revolution showed in practice that life is possible without exploitation, that socialism is the alternative to exploitative society... The October Revolution proved that bourgeois rule can be ended only by the armed revolution of the proletariat and the working masses, and capitalism and imperialism can be prevented from throwing humanity back into barbarism only by this way. There is a lot to learn from the October Revolution. Today, on the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution, we just want to emphasize some points that are important for the present ideological and practical struggles.

IN THE NATIONAL QUESTION THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION SHOWED THE REAL PATH TO LIBERATION!

Imperialist propagandists present the nationalist conflicts in the formerly socialist countries as proof of socialism not having solved the national question. They spread the lie that solution of the national questions are possible in the allegedly liberal-democratic regimes of the capitalist world. In reality they incite

peoples against one another in many places around the world through chauvinism and racism. And they are successful at it too.

During the period of socialism in the Soviet Union the foundations were laid for the peaceful coexistence of peoples through a correct nationalities policy and in the Second World War the peoples of the Soviet Union were clenched like a fist. They pursued the fascists to their dens and finished them off there, but today they are fighting one another through the contrivance of imperialism and reaction!

Contrary to the assertions of bourgeois ideologues the October Revolution demonstrated in practice that the emancipation of the oppressed nations lies not in capitalism but socialism.

The October Revolution replaced in Russia, with many oppressed nations, bourgeois nationalism by proletarian internationalism, and bourgeois leadership by proletarian leadership for the emancipation of the oppressed nations, and thus accomplished epoch-making changes in this field. Already on the first day of the revolution in Russia, which was a prison of nations, "equal rights for all nationalities" and the right of nations to "national self-determination including the right to secession" were proclaimed in Russia. Thus the first step was made towards creating out of a prison of nations a country in which all peoples are friends. The Soviet Union was the first state in which really equal and free peoples united on their own wish there. The October Revolution brought peoples not racism and national chauvinism, but proletarian internationalism. It demonstrated in practice that socialism is the only real alternative to racist-chauvinist barbarism of the imperialists. It proved in practice that the solution of the national question is only possible through the proletarian revolution.

The October Revolution clearly proved the following:

"...Under the rule of capital, with private ownership of the means of production and the existence of classes, equal rights for nations cannot be guaranteed; as long as the power of capital exists, as long as the struggle for the possession of the means of production goes on, there can be no equal rights for nations, just as there can be no cooperation between the labouring masses of the different nations." (Stalin, "Report on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the National Question", Works, Volume 5, p. 38)

One lesson of the October revolution is that the national liberation struggle leads to real liberation only when it is subordinated to the struggle for socialism. This is particularly relevant today in the face of many national conflicts in the world.

WITH ITS PRACTICE, THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION DEMONSTRATED ALSO THE CORRECT APPROACH TO COMBATING RELIGIOUS REACTION!

Religious fanaticism is skilfully used by imperialism and world reaction against the working class and peoples. Not only out of nationalism, but also because of religion and confession the peoples are murdering each other. Religious currents are getting stronger everywhere in the world. Bourgeois ideologues spread the theory of the "end of class struggles and the age of the clash of cultures". By the clash of cultures they understand first of all wars in which power struggles are fought out to the blood under the mantle of "religious clashes" between Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam.

The talk of the "end of class struggles" is empty talk, just as is the cry of the "epoch of lasting peace" after the collapse of the so-called Eastern Block. So long as there are oppressing and oppressed classes, there will also be class struggles! In this class struggle religion is also used by the ruling classes as a means. Beside racism and national chauvinism it has the func-

tion of preventing workers and toiling masses from grasping the real reasons for hunger, unemployment and poverty etc. That's why the imperialist bourgeoisie and world reaction put the heat on religious fanaticism. We see once again very clearly that the ruling classes use religion as opium for the oppressed masses. This is likewise true for Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and all other religions and confessions. The orthodox church is not only pepped up with state help again in Russia today, but also anti-Semitism revived overtly and covertly. Both of them are important means of the bourgeoisie to split the masses, incite them against one another and distract them from revolutionary struggle.

Communists are against religion on principle, because it stupefies and benumbs the masses, holds them up from class struggle, and fight religious institutions.

In this fight the Communists differentiate between religious beliefs on the one hand and institutions based on religion on the other. Accordingly, they oppose every kind of oppression of religious or confessional minorities, but consider the religious institutions and the whole reaction referring to religion and abusing it for their own purposes as dangerous enemies, without the destruction of which the revolution can not win victory and socialism cannot be built.

After the October Revolution the proletarian atheist state regarded religion as a personal affair, conducted information campaigns about the real function of religion, and parallel to this fight prevented various religions and confessions from fighting and oppressing one another. Thus it prevented religious and confessional differences from becoming obs-tacles to the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

Just as the October Revolution demonstrated that the real solution of the national question is realized by the revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, it also accomplished the

total separation of religion and state which not even one bourgeois state applies in practice, because this would run counter to its exploitative interests, and made religion a private matter of individuals.

"Take religion, or the denial of rights to women, or the oppression and inequality of the non-Russian nationalities. These are all problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The vulgar petty-bourgeois democrats talked about them for eight months. In not a single one of the most advanced countries of the world have these ques-tions been completely settled on bourgeois-democratic lines. In our country they have been settled completely by the legislation of the October Revolution. We have fought and are fighting religion in earnest." (Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", Selected Works in Three Volumes, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1976, Vol. 3, p. 585)

THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM HAS NOT CHANGED! PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS NECESSARY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE!

Another fraudulent maneuver of the bourgeois ideologues is "globalization". The bourgeoisie acts as if it found something completely new, and capitalism entered a new age. In actual fact, globalization is nothing new, but a characteristic trait of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, right from the beginning. Economic, political, military and territorial division of the world and its population among a handful of imperialist great powers – what is this but "globalization"? It is nothing but a fashionable idea that serves the purpose of pressing still more profit by increasing the exploitation and oppression of the working class and oppressed peoples.

The globalization theory of the bourgeois ideologues can not hide the true face of imperialism either. Imperialism means racism, chauvinism, fascism, reaction, male domination, mean

exploitation, plunder of nature. Imperialism is BARBARISM! The October Revolution showed that the only alternative to imperialist barbarism is revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, the construction of SOCIALISM.

On the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution we must push this fact into the foreground and fight for it. We must fight, more determined, more consciously, more organized, more forcefully!

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION SHOWED THAT THE PROLETARIAT AS A CLASS CAN LEAD THE REVOLUTION ONLY WHEN IT HAS ITS BOLSHEVIK PARTY!

To bury the imperialist barbarism historically, carry out the proletarian revolution and build up socialism, the most important task today is the creation of really Marxist-Leninist, genuinely BOLSHEVIK PARTIES uniting the working class and toilers under their leadership.

A fundamental prerequisite of the October Revolution was that in this revolution the working class was led by a Bolshevik Party.

"Only a party like the Bolshevik Party, courageous enough to lead the people in decisive attack, and cautious enough to steer clear of all the submerged rocks in its path to the goal, could so skilfully merge into one common revolutionary torrent such diverse revolutionary movements as the general democratic movement for peace, the peasant democratic movement for the seizure of the landed estates, the movement of the oppressed nationalities for national liberation and national equality, and the Socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Stalin, "History of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union /Bolsheviks/ Short Course", Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1939, p. 213)

No doubt such a party did not fall from the sky in October 1917. It was built as vanguard organization of the working class in international struggle against the reformist-legalist tradition of the opportunism of the Second International. It developed in the pre-revolutionary era on the basis of the working-class movement in Russia, and was the result of conscious efforts to unite the working-class movement and socialism. It equipped the million masses with the revolutionary theory of Marxism and drew them to revolutionary positions. Having a clear political line, it was able to feel the heartbeat of the masses and always give correct leadership to the masses in the revolution and in the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today, on the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution, the need for such Bolshevik Parties is obvious for the victory of the proletarian world revolution.

The cause of emancipation of the proletariat sets Marxist-Leninists in the whole world the urgent task of creating parties of a new type like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. Communist Parties are necessary to beat back the ideological barrage of the "demise of communism", win the workers and toiling masses back to Communism, and march forward to new Octobers!

On the 80th anniversary of the October revolution we must regrettably observe that the Communist movement is experiencing its weakest period. Worldwide there are only very few working-class movements into which Marxist-Leninist propaganda is carried in and which attain revolutionary class consciouness. The strength of the organizations carrying the truth of Marxism-Leninism into the working class and toiling masses, and particularly their influence in the working class, is very

slight. In the name of socialism revisionist, reformist, opportunist views are prevalent.

Today while imperialism increases its attacks on the working class and oppressed peoples internationally, the objective conditions for the unity of the working masses separated by national and state frontiers from one another with their class sisters and closest toiling allies across these boundaries are riper than ever before.

Although the objective conditions are favorable for revolution, the great majority of workers and toiling masses do not act in line with their own interests.

For this reason it is the task of the Communists to raise the subjective element to the level of objective possibilities. Communist Parties must be built in all countries which unite through untiring agitation and propaganda the working class and the toiling masses under the banner of Communism, and fight for the unity of revolutionary forces on a Marxist-Leninist platform internationally! Therein lies the fundamental task of the day!

Sooner or later, Communists will be successful in the urgent task of the day! Through new Octobers, imperialist barbarism will be thrown onto the garbage pile of history!

Forward to fight for socialism against imperialist barbarism!

Bolshevik Initiative Germany
Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey)
Communist Party of India (M-L) Red Flag
Marxist-Leninist Initiative (Austria)
Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria

This Statement was drafted and signed by the above-named organizations and parties. The public will be informed in case further parties and organizations also sign.

Message of Greetings to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of Its Foundation

Dear comrades,

we thank you cordially for having invited us, the Bolshevik Party of North Kurdistan/Turkey, to your 25th anniversary of the foundation of the National Democratif Front of the Philippines.

At a time where imperialism is worldwide on the advance, at a time where the forces of revolution are greatly weakened by the revisionist degeneration of the erstwhile socialist Soviet Union, of the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania, by the degeneration of many former Communists parties, the history of your struggle sets an inspiring and courageous example for the fighting strength and the fighting will of the oppressed peoples and proletarians.

The fight of the Philippines peoples against neo-colonial enslavement by the imperialist great powers, their fight against Philippine compradors and big bourgeoisie and big landwoners for democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution is a signal and torchlight for the present struggles.

The history of the NDF, the united front of the most different layers and classes, their political unions, parties and organizations of the oppressed masses of the Philippines, is very instructive for all liberation fighters worldwide.

The struggles of the millions of toilers in the Philippines are growing further. The NDF and its leading force, the Communist Party of the Philippines, distinguish themselves by estimating very realistically the intensity and quality of these struggles, by lifting them through their conscious pol-

itics to an always higher level of political clarity. Precisely in this field they set an important example against phrasemongers and daydreamers, who every day predict a revolution that never comes. The NDF knows perfectly well how to estimate the struggles correctly, to lift them to a revolutionary level and to incorporate them into the struggle for revolution.

The situation in North Kurdistan and Turkey is today more difficult than ever. The broad working masses suffer from exploitation, neo-colonial oppression and intolerable living conditions. Imperialism and the Turkish ruling classes wage a merciless war of extermination against the Kurdish nation. Chauvinism and racism pepped up by the Kemalists right up to the Islamists leave behind also their broad traces in the consciousness of Turkish toilers. Also the nationalism of the oppressed nation, of the Kurds gains on intensity and complicates the creation of the unity of the working class and toilers from all nationalities. But inspite of all adverse circumstances we are convinced that the militant unity of the workers and toilers of all nationalities in our country will be created, new democratic revolution will gain victory and the way will be smoothed for socialism. Despite its "demise" proclaimed by the bourgeoisie, socialism and Communism is more topical than ever before. It is the only alternative to the barbarism of imperialism. In this consciousness we hail your 25th Anniversary. Long live proletarian internationalism!

BOLSHEVIK PARTY
(NORTH KURDISTAN/TURKEY)

April 23, 1998.

Message to the Trades Union Congress of India

Dear comrades,

we Bolshevik communists from North Kurdistan/Turkey have set ourselves the task of uniting the working-class movement with socialism.

Presently, the decisive feature of the working-class movement in our countries is that essentially it acts within the boundaries drawn up by the ruling classes. The movement in its generality does not yet go beyond the limits of economic demands. As for the political demands of the movement, again taken generally, they do not go beyond the limits of demands for reforms. Taken as a whole, the ruling classes are still able to utilize the struggle of the working class as a lever in their own contention for power. And here the unions controlled by the ruling classes play the main role. The task is to free the working-class struggle from ruling class control, and turn it into a genuinely revolutionary class struggle against the present order.

A contention for power is going on inside the ruling classes in our countries. This contention for power is being waged mainly between the Kemalist fascist and religious fascist wings, whereby both of them are trying to bring the working class in their tow. While the Kemalist fascists call upon the workers to support the struggle for the so-called laic and democratic republic against religious fundamentalism, the religious fascists call upon the working class to support the struggle for the so-called civil society and democracy.

The trade-union organizations of the working class are essentially organizations of these two wings. Among the big union confederations, the Türk-İş (Turkish Confederation of Labor) and the DISK (Confederation of Revolutionary Trades Unions) belong to the organizations of Kemalist fascism, Hak-İş is the organization of religious fascists. Although these organizations are under the control of ruling classes, the greatest part of the organized workforce is in these unions. The influence of the communist and revolutionary movement inside the working class is quite limited.

Under these circumstances, since setting up revolutionary unions against yellow, fascist and reformist unions would bring about the further isolation of revolutionary workerks already few in number in its wake, we Bolshevik communists presently do not set ourselves the task of setting up revolutionary unions in our countries. Our present union policy is based on the following foundations:

* We call upon all workers to join union organizations. In a situation where workers do not join even this simplest and most primitive form of organization, it is impossible to be victorious in the struggle for democracy and socialism. The percentage of working class organized in unions is quite low in our country: around 20 percent! To raise this level is one of the most important tasks of union struggle.

* We call upon revolutionary and communist workers to wage an active struggle in yellow, reformist and fascist unions amalgamating the great majority of the organized workforce, and we carry out this struggle. The task of the revolutionary/communist workers is to win these workers, who are presently bound through these unions with the State and fascist order, for a class-conscious, militant union struggle. Goal of this struggle is to "conquer the unions". What we understand by "conquering the unions" is not the seizure of totally reactionary union apparatus that has itself become capitalistic and interwoven with the State, but winning the rank-and-file workers organized in the unions for the class struggle. In this sense, conquering the unions means, in our view, freeing the majority of unionized workers from the influence of union bosses and winning over to our side. The only way of achieving this is for the revolutionary and communist workers to participate in the foremost ranks of all struggles, even when they are waged for the most basic, most primitive demands, to conduct every struggle from the standpoint of bringing the workers closer to revolution, and to be able to unite the day-to-day struggle with the struggle for power masterfully.

* Organizational means of this activity in yellow, reactionary, reformist and fascist unions are communist/revolutionary factions embracing all unionized workers that carry out a struggle also against the treacherous bos-

ses of these unions and put it at the center of their activity to use every struggle as a means to raise the consciousness of workers and organize them. In the present conditions, these factions have to conduct their activities under the hardest conditions of illegality. Inspite of this, communist/revolutionary factional work in unions has the potential of attaining a mass character. For the great majority of the unionized workers is not content with the treacherous policy of the union bosses. The demand for broadest possible democracy and freedom of coalition in the unions is an important goal of struggle of these factions.

* For us communists, yellow, reactionary, reformist and fascist unions are not the only field of activity in our work within the working class. As we already said, only a small minority of the workers in our country are organized in unions. Great majority of them are not even organized in unions for a number of reasons. A section of them do not get organized in or leave the unions because of the treacherous policy of union bosses. But the largest section is not organized because they do not grasp the importance and necessity of organization. To draw the unorganized into the class struggle and organize them is another important goal for us. We regard Strike and Strugg Committees as an important means to this end. These are committees elected at general meetings attended by all workers –irrespective of whether they are organized or unorganized– employed in any one particular plant or factory for a concrete struggle or strike. By way of these committees, even the most unorganized sections of the working class can be drawn into struggle directly, and the union bosses can be restricted in their possibilities of selling off a struggle by reaching compromises with the bosses behind the back of workers. In our view, the struggle to create Strike and Struggle Committees is as important as the work in the unions.

* In our country, too, the ruling classes are out for a great onslaught against the restricted rights of the working class. In this onslaught, the three-pronged attack of de-unionization, privatization and subcontracting stands out as the main worry of workers at the moment.

Against the attack of de-unionization, we are waging the struggle for the right to unions with collective bargaining power and the right to strike;

against privatization, "neither private, nor State capitalism", none of the acquired rights of the working class can be rescinded;

against subcontracting, the struggle to defend and extend the acquired rights of the working class.

Employment and all social insurances, including unemployment insurance, for all able-bodied persons is one of our basic slogans in the day-to-day struggle.

By every opportunity we are endeavoring to develop special policies to abolish the division of workers along the lines of nationality, gender, religion etc.

Removing the fences between workers and small civil servants and uniting the struggle of the two is another presently important goal for us.

We are endeavoring to carry out the policy outlined above. This is an arduous struggle, and we are only at the beginning. Our successes are quite limited yet. But we know that, when we persevere in carrying out this correct policy, our successes will grow, this is the only way.

We also know that the point of departure of your activities, too, is to set the working-class struggle onto a revolutionary foundation, and in this struggle you are momentarily incomparably ahead of us in terms of direct influence within the working class. We grasp and salute your struggle as our struggle, as an inseparable part of the genuine revolutionary class struggle of the working class in the whole world. And we want to learn from this struggle in the period ahead.

Unfortunately, we are not able to take part in your congress with a delegation, but our hearts beat with you. We send you and the working class of India our warmest revolutionary, communist greetings from North Kurdistan and Turkey, and wish your congress every success!

Down with imperialism and all reaction!

Long live proletarian internationalism! Long live the revolution!

Inkilab zindabad!

Trades Union Commission of the
Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey) February 1998•

Mauthausen reminds us:

On May 8 1945 peoples under the leadership of the Soviet Union defeated Hitler Fascism!

TODAY THE SOURCE OF FASCISM IS STILL IMPERIALISM!
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM CANNOT BE WAGED
SEPARATELY FROM THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

May 8, 1945 is the day on which the Nazi empire, reaching out for world domination, intent on destroying Bolshevism completely, and for these goals drowning the world in blood, had to confess its defeat officially. Hitler fascism, initially supported with credits worth billions of dollars by Western Powers with the goal of inciting it against Bolshevism, was defeated by the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and all other peoples fighting shoulder on shoulder with the Red Army of the Soviet Union. England and the USA, participating in the Anti-Hitler coalition to enforce their own imperialist interests, also played an important role in the victory over Hitler fascism. At the end, fascist Germany was forced to its knees, and fascism unconditionally capitulated. Today is the 53rd anniversary of the day on which German imperialism suffered this defeat. Today is the 53rd anniversary of the day on which people suffering under the despotism of Hitler fascism, the survivors of the concentration camps: Communists, anti-fascists, Jews, Roma/Sinti and war prisoners regained their freedom.

One of these extermination camps of fascism was Mauthausen. The slave-driven persons in the extermination camp Mauthausen and its subsidiary camps have during this 7 years of barbarism

written a history of thousand tears, grief and death on each stone, on each spot of earth.

In this "third degree" concentration camp erected on the banks of the Danube, between 1938 and 1945 Hitler fascism crammed together 335.000 prisoners. According to its own lists 122.767 persons were shot dead during "hare hunt, strawberry picking and on the flight". Thousands were thrown from granite rocks into death. Many were murdered with gas.

In Gusen, Ebensee, Melk and in Hartheim Castle (above all handicapped) persons were burnt day and night in concentration camp ovens.

In the Soviet Union, which under the leadership of Stalin razed Hitler fascism to the ground, patrols today because of the revisionist treachery of Chrushchev, Breshnev, Gorbachev etc. again imperialism. The Communist movement is experiencing one of its weakest periods. For that reason all parties sitting in the bourgeois parliament are extremely quiet. They resort to all means to extend the life of the exploiter state. When necessary, they pass themselves off as humane, democratic, antiracist. Every year another hypocrisy is celebrated: now as the "year of human rights", now as the "year of anti-racist struggle" etc. However is it not the imperialist states Austria, Germany, England, USA etc. themselves that stoke racism and further the development of fascism? Is it not the imperialist states themselves that support fascism in North Kurdistan/Turkey, in Argentina etc.? Is it not these imperialist states, for example, that pass alien's laws in Austria, France etc. and spur racism on within the working class? Is it not these imperialist states which dismantle the acquired rights of workers? In a nutshell, was it not imperialism that raised, nourished, and indeed produced Hitler fascism? Yes, the source of all barbarism is this imperialist system itself.

All parties with seats in the parliament of the Austrian imperialist state declared May 8 as the "day of struggle against racism".



But in Austria all racist laws, internal fascization, the attacks on the rights of workers etc. are enacted there.

None of the state parties represented in parliament has the problem of really fighting racism, fascism and imperialism. One can expect nothing good from them to the benefit of toilers.

One can not fight against racism under the flag of the bourgeoisie. There is only one banner of the toilers of different nationalities: The banner of internationalism. 1945 fascism was conquered and its source, the imperialist system, weakened under this banner. Today, since fascism and its cause, the imperialist system, are not destroyed, we must hoist the flag of internationalism again.

Class-conscious male and female workers, anti-fascists, sympathisers of Communism: Today the task consists in creating Bolshevik Parties in all countries in which we find ourselves! Let us fight, class-conscious domestic and foreign male and female workers, together for this task!

Forward to destroy barbarism, forward to establish socialism!

Barbarism or socialism!

Bolshevism will conquer!

Bolshevik Partisan

Supporters in Austria April 1998•

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

THE EMANCIPATION OF OPPRESSED

WOMAN



March 1994 4 1 L • 6 FF • 2 DM

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

On the Occasion of Stalin's 100th Birth Anniversary

LET US LEARN FROM STALIN AND ACCOMPLISH THE TASKS AT HAND! (1979)



October 1994 5 2 L • 9 FF • 3 DM

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

who are we

History and Positions of the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey)

November 1994 2 2 L • 9 FF • 3 DM

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN



August 1995 7 3 L • 12 FF • 4 DM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN